The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

The roads of Negros are vital arteries of cultural change. In Negros, Dumaguete and Bacolod are the major mobilization centers of western culture. In these cities are concentrated the hospitals, high schools and universities, the magic of the cinema, magazine and book shops, stores crowded with merchandise unavailable in rural areas. South of Dumaguete in 1951 there was only one physician and no dentist. In the provincial capital barriofolk may see new automobiles, and crews from French or Norwegian ships, listen

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

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to the latest news on the radio or jukebox records, visit the United States Information Services library where free pictures are shown, hear the newest political rumors, or visit their children who have begun a new life with electricity, flush toilets and monthly salaries. The closer to Dumaguete, the better are a child's chances of longer life and a more adequate education. Children in the vicinity of the capital cities, for example, have no problem of paying for room and board while they attend high school.

One major problem in the Philippines is to extend beyond these few urban centers the nation's medical facilities, educational opportunities, and mass communication media which normally are not available to barriofolk. As one leaves Dumaguete and travels toward Caticugan, high school education and the basic medicines of the drugstore become more remote, electricity and medical services disappear, newspapers and magazines become rarer, and different outlooks and desires widen the gap between the barriofolk and their urban cousins. This limited spread of Twentieth-century technology and attitudes decreases arithmetical for the barrios along the National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton. The diminution is geometrical as one goes north of the National Road toward the barrios in the Siaton River valley. New roads open new land and new cultural horizons.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 *barrios* of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar *haciendas* and *centrals*. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, *op. cit.*, p.186.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

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The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

flowers put in the vases. When a religious service is held at the altar, the coconut oil lamp and a few candles are lighted.[6] 778

Domestic altars of Caticugan are quite similar to those described by Robert Redfield for Tepoztlan. 353 778

> A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ ...In front of this figure an incense burner...is placed...In it copal gum is burned. [No incense is used for altar services in Caticugan]. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days...[7]

A few wooden-carved saints can still be seen in Caticugan but, for the most part, they have been replaced by the bright-colored plaster figures sold in Dumaguete or purchased from peddlars who come to the barrios or poblacion during the fiestas.

The frequency of these domestic barrio altars decreases in the poblacion. Some of the more sophisticated think that the barriofolk's altars are primitive; none of the altars seen in the poblacion approached the elaborateness of the two brothers' altar in Barrio Caticugan. Since many principalia of Siaton are Protestants this may explain, in part, the fewer domestic altars that occur in the poblacion. 369 353 778 795

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[6]The life history of one man included a statement that he could escape punishment for a childhood misdeed if he reached the family altar before his father caught him.

[7]Redfield, op. cit., p. 38.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapok). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

[291 369] [437] [868]

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

POTTERY

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There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2]Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

discouraged most women who knew how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain cainggins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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utensils (still used by the Magahats) have been replaced with glass- and tinware. However, in all of these examples the new products are functionally superior to those formerly made.

In each case the handicraft products have been replaced by items made outside the local community. Most cotton cloth, tinware, etc., sold in the Philippines (and Caticugan) are imported. Pottery comes largely from Dumaguete. With the development of the infant Philippine jute industry it is possible that buri weaving will decline. Gunny sacks make better bags than does buri.

These various changes have led to a diminution of the former independence and self-sufficiency of Caticugan's rural community. This trend has been described in other aspects of barrio life, fishing, agriculture, etc. The material products of the city are reaching the barrio as well as new attitudes and modified appreciations from the city folk.

In my opinion, only inexcusable sentimentality laments the passing of handicrafts that use obsolete equipment and time-consuming techniques to make inferior products. The barriofolk of Caticugan are enmeshed in the Machine Age; this is inevitable, desirable and long-delayed. Their growing dependence on the urban machine economy will not be reduced by revival of cumbersome, unproductive handicrafts. For revival or stimulation of weaving and pottery in Caticugan, for example, necessitates more than improved equipment and better designs. The pride and sense of achievement

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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Kahologan begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto, bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.